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AUTHOR Allen, Richard L.
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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to examine the background factors related to two racial attitudes of blacks--black identity and alienation from white society in the United States--and to investigate the relationship between these two conceptually different notions of black racial attitudes. An area probability design was employed and 324 black adults living in the San Francisco, California, area were interviewed. Demographic and socioeconomic factors elicited were (1) age, (2) occupation, (3) income, (4) education, (5) perceived social class, and (6) sex. The subjects each completed a six-item agree-disagree scale measuring alienation from white society and a seven-item agree-disagree scale measuring black identity. The results indicated that younger blacks were more alienated from white society than were older blacks. Moreover, the younger, the more highly educated, and those of perceived lower social class all tended to have higher black identity. Although the correlation between black identity and alienation from white society was high, an analysis of the relationship of the background variables to the two indicated that they were conceptually distinct. (Author/FL)

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Black Identity and Alienation from White Society

Richard L. Allen

University of Michigan

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ABSTRACT

The investigation of white racial attitudes has occupied a considerable amount of the research literature. It has permitted detailed analysis of change in race relations. Little systematic data, however, has been gathered to observe black racial attitudes. In this paper, it is argued that the future of American society is heavily influenced by the resolution of its race problems, in which blacks are also a potent force. Thus, their attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs should be taken into account. The purpose of this study was to: 1) examine the background factors related to two black racial attitudes--Black Identity and Alienation from White Society 2) investigate the relationship between two conceptually different notions of black racial attitudes, and 3) assess the reliability of these two scales. An area probability design was employed, and 324 personal interviews were collected from a sample of black adults. Using a LISREL model, the results indicated that younger blacks were more Alienated from White Society. Moreover, the younger, the higher educated, and those of lower perceived social class, all tended to have higher Black Identity. Although the correlation between Black Identity and Alienation from White Society was high, an analysis of the relationship of the background variables to the two scales indicated that they are conceptually and empirically distinct.

Following the black protest of the late fifties and the entire sixties, many researchers have acknowledged the need for increased scientific study of black opinions. The overwhelming majority of the prior research literature has tended to focus exclusively on white attitudes and beliefs. Until recently, the emphasis has been largely on the proprieties of intergroup relations and on the attitudes and behavior of whites toward blacks (Taylor, 1979). Investigators are beginning, however, to realize that by also gauging black opinions it is possible to gain a fuller understanding of the dynamics of interracial interaction and a more accurate assessment of the potential occurrence of racial tension in society (O'Gorman; 1979; Turner and Wilson, 1976). Such a concern has been exemplified in the three Newsweek polls (Brink and Harris, 1964, 1967; Goldman, 1969), and studies by Marx's (1967) and Schuman and Hatchett (1974).

In arguing for a greater interest in black attitudes, beliefs, and actions, Schuman and Hatchett (1974) stated that the future of American society for both blacks and whites are inextricably tied to the resolution of our racial problems, and in this regard blacks are an active and potent force. A similar point was made by Myrdal (1973) in his reflections on the present racial situation.

Our basic assumption is that black racial attitudes also require continued study as race relations change. While there are numerous publication, extending over three decades, on white racial attitudes which have permitted a careful analysis of change in race relations, little systematic data have been gathered to observe shifts in blacks' racial

attitudes over a similar period of time. The studies that have examined black racial attitudes attitudes over a relatively long period of time have noted that the demographic and psychological determinants of these attitudes have markedly changed as the social context of groups conflict has changed (Turner and Wilson, 1976). Studies over a shorter and more recent period of time have suggested that in a period of rapid change, considerable difficulties may result in trying to identify a stable yet differnentiated set of black racial attitudes (Paige, 1970; Schuman and Hatchett, 1974). With respect to more recent studies, many were concerned with black racial attitudes at one point in time.

Issues of Black Identity and Consciousness have characterized, directly or indirectly, a substantial body of the psychological literature on black Americans. The minority status of blacks in American society has engendered, to a large degree, the interest in these issues. Jackson et al. (1980) maintained that in any discriminated against minority, a focal issue becomes how individual group members relate to the group, to its history of discrimination, and, in reference to blacks, to the current collective struggle to confront a racist system.

Two distinct periods may be identified in the literature on Black Identity--studies conducted before and after the onset of the Civil Rights movement (Cross, 1979; Porter and Washington, 1979; Jackson et al. 1980). Concerning the former period, most of the writings have stressed negative Black Identity (i.e., they have tended to link negative Black Identity to self-rejection and other negative psychological consequences). Whereas, the post-sixties writings have tended to focus on the link between positive Black Identity and high self esteem and other positive psychological consequences.

In writings in both periods, the assumption has been made that there is a straightforward, direct relationship between Black Identity and psychological outcomes (Jackson et al., 1980). Recently, several writers have questioned this assumption (e.g., Barnes, 1973; Zavalloni, 1973; McAdoo, 1976), and the reviews of the empirical studies have shown nonconsistent relationships (Cross, 1979; Porter and Washington 1979).

Whether talking about either of the aforementioned periods, the literature has not resulted in generally agreed upon definitions or measures of Black Identity. Various definitions have been used by various authors to get at various notions of Black Identity, Pride, Consciousness, Loyalty, etc. Moreover, these terms have been overlapping and used interchangeably (Jackson et al. 1980).

Both Proshansky and Newman (1968) and Jackson et al. (1980) have provided useful and quite similar ways of categorizing the various components of Black Identity. Jackson et al. (1980) specified three components of Black Identity, viz., affective, cognitive, and behavioral. The first component involves group pride and a positive commitment to blacks. On the other hand, the cognitive component refers to the political ideological aspects of consciousness. That is, this component involves both seeing the group's interest as being in conflict with those of the dominant group and developing an ideological stance that challanges the legitimacy of the system that has designated less power and fewer resources to their group. Finally, the behavioral component involves the readiness to act in behalf of the group.

With a greater similarity to the affective component, Black Identity

is defined in this study as an individual's attachment to blacks as a group and a positive orientation toward being a member of that group. It may be viewed as an assertive and positive response to unfavorable circumstances.

Fairly consistent results have been shown for the relationship of demographic and socioeconomic factors to racial attitudes, despite the differences in conceptual and methodological approaches (Caplan, 1970). For example, the younger and the higher educated blacks tended to have more race consciousness and militancy (Marx, 1968; Toomer, 1975; Turner and Wilson, 1976).

One of the most comprehensive and cogent writings on black racial attitudes is probably Schuman and Hatchett's Black Racial Attitudes: Trends and Complexities. One of the distinguishing characteristics of their book is the presentation of a theoretical definition of their major concept of black racial attitudes; namely, Alienation from White Society (hereafter referred to as Alientation). As a result of careful analysis, they defined this concept as the individuals sense that neither individual whites (at the level of personal interaction) nor white supported organizations or institution (at the societal level) should be trusted.

Aside from providing meaning (i.e., a theoretical definition) to their major concept, the authors related their major concept to other black racial attitudes and nonracial attitudes, thus, identifying the boundaries of its applicability and relevance to other social issues as well as previous studies (e.g., the effects of race of interviewer on obtained results). Moreover, comparability with other studies were main-

tained by a detailed examination of demographic and socioeconomic variables. Possible interactions were also examined. One of the most stimulating aspects of the work of Schuman and Hatchett is their speculation that in years ahead black disillusionment with whites as reflected in their main scale will continue and increase. This prediction is based on the finding that such disillusionment has its strongest manifestation in the young. Similarly, since demographic and socioeconomic correlates of black racial attitudes are not likely to change markedly within a fairly long period, it may be reasonable to assume that these relationships (especially with age) will persist (i.e., will be relevant to contemporary America). It was suggested that black views have shifted to a course exemplified in the concept of Alienation from White Society.

In summary, Schuman and Hatchett presented two major conclusions concerning the relationship of demographic and socioeconomic factors to Alienation. First, it was maintained that age is consistent with all recent studies since the mid-sixties; viz., "younger blacks are more alienated than older blacks. In magnitude this is the strongest background correlate of black racial attitudes..." (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 74). Second, education, although less strong and more complex, was also related to Alienation. That is, Alienation was highest among the least educated and most educated respondents.

Concerning the relationship of Alienation and other black racial attitudes, they found that the scale was related to practically all the other black racial attitudes examined. The strongest correlates were

with items which dealt with open hostility from whites; closely followed by items that expressed a sense that blacks cannot expect a fair chance within the society, either as persons working to achieve success or as citizens dealing with social representatives such as police or politicians.

The purpose of this study is to examine the demographic and socioeconomic factors related to black racial attitudes. A corollary concern is to investigate the relationship between the two conceptually different notions of black racial attitudes (Alienation and Black Identity).

We constructed a model (1) to represent the process whereby black racial attitudes are determined by the various demographic and socioeconomic variables; and (2) to specify and estimate the measurement errors.

Our structural equation model is presented in the path diagram of Figure 1.

Figure 1 about here

Observed variables are enclosed in boxes; whereas, the latent variables are enclosed in ellipses. Y1-Y6 are indicators of Alienation; and Y7-Y13 are indicators of Black Identity. Errors of measurements (ε) are included in the diagram but are not enclosed. A one-way arrow pointing from one variable to a latent variable indicates a direct causal relationship. The curved arrow labeled 1 indicates an association between the latent variables; while, the curved arrow labeled 2 indicates that after con-

trolling for the effects of the independent variables on the latent variables, the disturbances are correlated across the latent variables. Corresponding to the diagram:

$$\underset{13 \times 1}{Y} = \underset{13 \times 2}{\Lambda}\ \underset{2 \times 1}{\eta} + \underset{13 \times 1}{\varepsilon}, \qquad \underset{2 \times 1}{\eta} = \underset{8 \times 2}{\Gamma}\ \underset{2 \times 1}{\chi} + \underset{2 \times 1}{\xi}$$

where Y is a 13 x 1 vector of observed endogenous variables;

χ is a 8 x 1 vector of observed exogenous variables;

η is a 2 x 1 vector of latent variables;

Λ is the 13 x 2 matrix of factor loadings;

Γ is a 8 x 2 matrix of values of paths relating the exogenous variables to the latent variables;

ε is a 13 x 1 vector of errors associated with the measurement of Y; and

ξ is a 2 x 1 vector of disturbances associated with η.

Let Φ and Ψ be the covariance matrices of x and of the disturbances between the latent variables in Figure 1, respectively, and let θ_ε be the covariance matrix of ε (the figure assumes that θ_ε is diagonal). Assume that the errors of measurement are uncorrelated with η, χ and Ψ. Also assume that the disturbances and x are uncorrelated. Then, we can write out the model as:

$$\Sigma \begin{bmatrix} \Sigma yy & \Sigma yx \\ \Sigma xy & \Sigma xx \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \Lambda\ (\Gamma\ \Phi\ \Gamma' + \Psi)\ \Lambda' + \theta_\varepsilon, & \Lambda\ \Gamma\ \Phi \\ \Phi\ \Gamma'\ \Lambda', & \Phi \end{bmatrix}$$

This model is a special case of the more general LISREL model. LISREL is a general program for estimating the unknown coefficients in a set of linear structural questions. The LISREL model is composed of two parts: the measurement model and the structural equation model. The former specifies how the hypothetical constructs are measured in terms of observed variables and may be used to describe reliabilities of the observed variables, which in this study corresponds to a description of the reliabilities of the indicators. The latter model specifies the causal relationships among the hypothetical constructs and are used to describe the causal effects and the amount of unexplained variance (see Joreskog, 1976 for a more detailed description of the LISREL model).

Although various strategies may be employed to obtain a hypothesized model, the approach we shall use begins with a model which assumes that measurement error is entirely random. Assuming such a model presents an acceptable fit to the data, the coefficients linking latent traits and indicators may be interpreted as validity coefficients and, when squared, as reliability coefficients (Werts et al., 1974). These coefficients may be used to assess the relative adequacy of the indicators. When the hypothesized model is overidentified, failure to fit the data may signify the presence of nonrandom error (Stapleton, 1978).

RESEARCH DESIGN

Survey data were collected from a sample of black adults living in San Francisco. An area of 16 continguous census tracts, each containing at least 20% black population according to the 1970 Census, was sampled. Any block containing fewer than 20% black residents was eliminated. Sample points were drawn by random numbers from a reverse telephone directory; to control biases due to unlisted phones and homes without phones, interviewers contacted the next housing unit rather than the address drawn from the directory. Although the data were collected at three points in time, only data from the first wave were used in this study. There were 391 personal interviews attempted and 324 were completed, yielding a response rate of 83%. Only black interviewers were employed, thus, eliminating the possibility of race of interviewer effects. Our final sample was representative of San Francisco black head and wives of head of house, ages 19 and over.[3]

The demographic and socioeconomic factors were: (a) age -- respondent indicated age at last birthday. The product term for the response was constructed, which represented an interaction term; (b) occupational status -- respondent indicated the kind of job or work performed for a living. The response was coded according to Duncan's (1961) socioeconomic index; (c) income -- respondent indicated the total family income for the past year; (d) education -- respondent indicated the amount of education by responding to six categories ranging from less than ninth grade to post-graduate work. The product term for education was constructed from the responses, which represented an interaction term; (3) perceived social class -- respondents indicated the class he/she considered himself/herself to be a member of

by responding to a 6 point scale, ranging from lower class to upper class; (f) sex -- by observation, the respondent was coded as being either male or female.

Black Racial Attitudes

The Alienation from White Society scale, measured on a three point scale, was composed of the following items:

a. Some people say that over the last 10 years, there has been a lot of progress in getting rid of racial discrimination. Others say there hasn't been much real change for most blacks over that time or can't you say. Which would you agree with most? (y_1)

b. On the whole, do you think most white people in San Francisco want to see blacks get a better break, or do they want to keep blacks down, or don't they care one way or the other? (y_2)

c. Do you personally feel that you can trust most white people, quite a few white people, some white people, or none at all? (y_3)

d. Do you think black customers who shop in the big downtown stores are treated as politely as white customers, or are they treated less politely? (y_4)

e. As you see it, what's the best way for black to try to gain their rights-- use laws and persuasion, use nonviolent protest, or be ready to use violence or can's you say which is best (y_5)

f. Do you think only a few white people dislike blacks or almost all whites dislike blacks? ("All" may be volunteered). (y_6)

The Black Identity scale was composed of seven forced-choice items rated on a five point agree-disagree scale. The items were:[4]

1. Situations which are called "riots" involving people of my race would

not be called the same thing by television newsmen if whites were involved. (y_7)

2. Black people should try not to always sit in their own groups in public. (y_8)
3. European culture is actually more advanced than African culture. (y^9)
4. Whenever the national anthem is sung, for example at sporting events, everyone should stand to show their respect for this country. (y_{10})
5. Blacks should have their own separate national anthem. (y_{11})
6. Blacks should be proud to live in America. (y_{12})
7. If a black works hard enough he or she can usually get ahead in this country in spite of prejudice and discrimination. (y_{13})

RESULTS

It was assumed that the structure of intercorrelations among the measured variables can be accounted for by the model in Figure 1. This baseline model (Model I) implicitly assumes that the structure of intercorrelations is accounted for by the impact of two latent variables--Alienation from White Society and Black Identity--on their respective indicators, by the correlations between the latent variables, and by the impact of the exogenous variables on the latent traits. Briefly, the model assumes that the only errors of measurement are random and that the two latent variables are unidimensional. Substantively, Model I may be viewed as the null hypothesis in testing the alternative hypothesis that the exogenous variables are related to the latent traits, and the indicators of the latent traits are multidimensional. Failure to provide an acceptable fit to the data, however, may not indicate multidimensionality. Rather, it might signify the presence of nonrandom error.

The hypothesized model must provide an acceptable fit to the data before a meaningful interpretation of the parameter estimates may be made. The adequacy of the fit is informed by several judgments: the calculation of a X^2 measure of goodness of fit; observation of the residual matrix (i.e., subtracting the observed correlations from the correlated reproduced by the parameter estimates). The significance of X^2 test the null hypothesis that the observed and reproduced correlations depart within the range of chance variations. Additionally, a useful guide is denoted by the closeness of the X^2 value to the degrees of freedom.

Looking at our conceptual model (Figure 1), it may be noted that we have included quadratic terms for age and education. This was based on a previous finding (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974) related to one of our latent variables (Alienation). The specification of the parameters in our model of black racial attitudes were such that the X's identify free elements, 1's identify elements with parameters equal to 1, and the 0's identify parameters set to 0. In our parameter specifications, we let Γ and Ψ be free of unconstrained matrices, and let θ_ε be diagonal. In estimating the model parameters, the values of the paths from each of the black racial attitudes latent traits to their corresponding indicators have been fixed at 1.0. For purposes of identification, this above specification is a requirement. It is implicit in analyses with single indicators of constructs.

Figure 2 shows that the indicators of the latent variables are significant. It is also clear, as exemplified in the $\hat{\Gamma}$ matrix, that only two of the exogenous variables are related to Alienation and Black Identity.

That is, occupation is positively related to Alienation and social class is negatively related to Black Identity.

Figure 2 about here

The X^2 for this model is 283.29 with 152 degrees of freedom, denoting a poor fit.

Another way to assess the validity of the model is to look at the residual matrix ($\hat{\Sigma}$-S). It was observed that a large discrepancy existed. Terms in these rows containing the squared terms had larger deviations. Because of these deviations, the high correlation of age and age,^{2} education and education^2 -- which may have accounted for the lack of statistical significance of all these coefficients--the squared terms were dropped. It appears that the relationship of age and education to the black racial attitudes may be best handled as linear terms.

Moving to the alternative model of no quadratic terms, statistically significant values were still obtained for every indicator of the two latent variables. This suggests, as we pointed our earlier, that the indicators are adequate. Several significant relationships are also evident for the $\hat{\Gamma}$ matrix of exogenous variable. The $\hat{\Gamma}$ matrix shows that age is significantly related to Alienation.

Figure 3 about here

In accord with previous research, the younger black tends to be more Alienated. The same holds true for the relationship of age to the other black racial attitude--Black Identity. In contrast, occupation had a

positive relationship with Alienation, but no relationship existed for occupation and Black Identity. Income, on the other hand, had no statistically significant relationship with either Alienation or Black Identity. Education showed a statistically significant relationship with Black Identity. That is, the greater the education, the greater the Black Identity. Somewhat surprisingly, education did not have a statistically significant relationship with Alienation. Perceived social class showed no relationship with Alienation, but it had a statistically significant relationship to Black Identity. Those who perceived themselves to be of a lower social class tended to have greater Black Identity. Finally, sex showed no statistically significant relationship to either of the black racial attitudes. Stated differently, black racial attitudes do not appear to be sex-related.

As expected, there was a substantial correlation (.640) between the two latent variables, which suggest a certain commonality in meaning. On the other hand, since in some instances the same exogenous variable had different signs related to the latent traits, the distinction between these traits appear to be conceptually useful. The amount of variance explained in the Alienation construct was 12%. For the Black Identity construct, 25% of the variance was explained.

Before this model can be accepted, it is necessary to look at its fit. When we look at the X^2, we find that it has a value of 261.97 with 130 degrees of freedom, which signifies a poor fit.

The first order derivatives of the fitting function with respect to the off diagonal elements of $\hat{\theta}_\varepsilon$ indicate that including parameters for correlated errors may be profitable. Note the fairly substantial correlated

errors between several of the indicators.

Table 1 about here

We now turn to changes in measurement specification. The next model[5] which has correlated errors is presented in Table 2. Here, we allow errors of measurement to be correlated within factors, if the first order derivative is greater than .1.

Table 2 about here

These correlated errors stand for sources of nonrandom measurement error in each of the latent traits, e.g., yeasaying or naysaying bias. The various matrices in Table 2 show changes in absolute values; however, in most instances the patterns of the relationships and the statistical significance remain the same. For example, the $\hat{\Lambda}$ matrix again shows that the indicators are significantly related to their latent traits. Similarly the same statistically significant relationships exist for the exogenous variables and latent traits as evidenced in the $\hat{\Gamma}$ matrix, with the exception of the relationship between occupation and Alienation. This relationship is no longer statistically significant. The $\hat{\Psi}$ matrix also presents the same statistically significant relationships. Moreover, the association between our latent traits in .622, only a very slight reduction (.018). So, it appears that the correlated error within factors does not drastically affect estimates of the substantive relationships in the model.

To assess the improvement in fit of this model, we compared the change in model 2 to model 3, which itself is a X^2 variable with degrees of freedom

equal to the differences in degrees of freedom of the two models. We find that the X^2 difference is:

$$X^2 = X^2_2 - X^2_3 = 261.977-208.424=53.553$$

with 12 d.f. This means that the decrease in X^2 due to respecification is significant beyond the .05 level ($X^2_{12\ d.f.,}$ p=.05=21.026), and stands for an improvement in fit.

Because of the existence of correlated errors among indicators within traits and the consequent improvement in the fit of the model, we also decided that a model should be examined with correlated errors among indicators both within and across factors. The results appear in Table 3. Estimates for this model and the previous one are quite similar, with varying patterns of very slight increases and decreases in the effects. It is clear from a perusal of $\hat{\Lambda}$ in Table 3, that the items are significantly related to their latent traits and seem to form a fairly consistent scale. The correlation between the latent traits remain the same. The same effects that were significant in the previous model are also significant here. Further, the correlated errors both within and between traits are substantial.

The X^2 test for improvement in fit is $X^2 = X^2_3 - X^2_4 = 208.423-167.682 = 40.741$ with 12 d.f. This value is significant at the .05 level.

Table 3 about here

The results from our final model are also interesting in terms of estimating reliability.[6] In general, the estimates are slightly larger for the Black Identity measures than for the Alienation measures. This model

accounted for 12% and 23% of the variance in Alienation and Black Ideneity, respectively.

Several considerations have gone into choosing this as our final model. First, although the final model is statistically significant, suggesting its rejection, we recognize that the χ^2 test statistic is very often significant in samples of large size. Thus, X^2 is used in a descriptive fashion to decide between models on the basis of relative fit to the data. We assessed varying $X^{2/d.f.}$ ratios across models in order to get a rough indication of fit per degree of freedom. Moreover, an examination of $(\hat{\Sigma} - S)$ matrix yields small estimates; this indicates that we have accounted for much of the available variance. Last, and this applies to all the other models as well, the assumption that Y and x are drawn from a multinormal distribution is questionable. This certainly prevents us from claiming, without reservations, that our estimates have the sampling properties of maximum likelihood estimators.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on past research and theorizing, we have examined four versions of a model predicting black racial attitudes. Using maximum likelihood estimation, the first version included quadratic terms for two of the background variables--age and education. This model was shown to be inadequate A substantial improvement was made in the model when the quadratic terms were removed and the model reestimated. This second version indicated that the scale factors for the two latent traits were adequate, and that many of the relationships between the demographic and latent variables were statistically significant. As a result of an investigation into the errors

of measurement associated with the latent traits, we constructed a model with correlated measurement error within the latent traits. In comparison with the previous model, there was an improvement in fit, although the parameter estimates changed only slightly. Finally, with even less of a change in parameter estimates, a model was constructed with correlated errors not only within, but also between factors. A substantial improvement in the fit was provided. This model formed the basis of the reliability estimates of our indicators. The Black Identity measure appeared to be the more reliable of the two racial attitudes. Both measures, however, exhibited nonrandom measurement error.

Several conclusions may be drawn from our results. First, younger blacks tend to believe that neither individual whites nor white institutions can be trusted. Consistent with all recent studies since the mid-sixties, younger blacks are considerably more Alienated.

Unlike the Schuman and Hatchett study, we did not find a sex effect. Commenting on the role of sex, the authors, however, pointed out the uncertainty involved in their findings. If their analysis of sex differences was confined to 1971, rather than considering the change in Alienation from 1968 - 1971, they would not have found a sex difference. This led them to speculate that the 1971 may represent the beginning of a trend toward the elimination of the attitude differences between men and women. Since our study was conducted in 1976, we were able to empirical test and, as it turns out, support this notion.

Contrary to the findings by Schuman and Hatchett, which showed a curvilinear effect for education, we found no such relationship. When the quadratic term for education was removed and only the linear term was in-

cluded, again the relationship was statistically nonsignificant. At least in San Francisco, it does not appear that Alienation draws on sentiments held by the different educated strata.

In brief, it appears, then, that there are both similarities and differences between the relationships found in our study, and those presented in the Schuman and Hatchett study. The differences are that we found neither an education effect nor a sex effect. We were, however, able to replicate the age effect; which in the Schuman and Hatchett study was the strongest demographic correlate of Alienation. For us, it was the only one.

The two studies, it must be kept in mind, were conducted in two different urban areas -- Detroit and San Francisco -- at two different points in time. The Schuman and Hatchett study was conducted in 1968 and 1971; our study was conducted in 1976. The similarities may suggest the strength and stability of the relationships. On the other hand, the differences are more difficult to interpret. It is not clear whether the nature of the two cities had an effect on the outcome, or whether it is the difference in time or some combination thereof. Based on subsequent findings, (Farley, et al., 1977) however, it is clear that Alienation does change depending on larger social events.

When we examined the other black racial attitude, Black Identity, which may be viewed as a positive alternative response to discrimination, we also obtained statistically significant effects. The younger (the age effect showed the greatest magnitude) expressed greater Black Identity. Also, the higher educated tended to have greater Black Identity; this relationship may be thought of as the fruition of the consciousness movement of black

college students during the sixties and early seventies. Last, those who perceive themselves as being of a lower class tended to have greater Black Identity. Perceived social class takes on a number of different meanings in the research literature, e.g., it has been treated as a partial indicator of class consciousness (cf. Kluegel et. al., 1977). If this definition is accepted, then it may be said that a certain sense of class consciousness is related to attitudes of Black Identity.

Taken together, the two racial attitudes showed a fairly high positive association, indicating a similarity in content. That is, having a positive attachment to blacks as a group is associated with an individual's sense that neither individual whites nor white supported institutions should be trusted. However, the different background variables relating to these two racial attitudes suggest that they are conceptually distinct. For example, age related to both of these attitudes, and in the same directions, but, education and perceived social class are related only to Black Identity. Given the similar range of reliability estimates for the two racial attitudes, it does not appear that the differences in the relationships can be attributed to differential measurement problems. This implies that one's racial attitudes cannot be viewed simply in economic terms.

The origins of Alienation and Black Identity are, indeed, complex. They may be uncovered partly in general idealogical and cultural change, as manifested in the greater Alienation and Black Identity of the younger adults. And, especially with respect to Black Identity, it may be partly in the continuing racial experience of a more individual nature that is linked directly to one's position in the social structure.

An examination of correlated errors within and between factors provided useful insights. Substantively, the correlated errors within factors indicated that in addition to these items measuring the latent constructs--Alienation, in one instance, and Black Identity in the other, there is a factor(s) that both of the items measure which is not contained in the two proferred constructs. The correlated errors both within and between factors give the additional information that the items whose errors are correlated across the two constructs are measuring some factor(s) common to both items, which again is not included in the model. The reasons for these correlated errors may be either conceptual or methodological. Within our design, it is not possible to make this discernment. It is clear, however, that these constructs are not unidimensional. It further attests to their complexity. The lack of unidimensionality was pointed out by Schuman and Hatchett in reference to Alienation and by several other authors with respect to Black Identity.

The data for this study came from a single urban city, San Francisco. This, therefore, may lead to the question of their representativeness to the entire country. Of course, we have no way of generalizing to the adult urban black population, not to mention the rural South. Our study postdates the main wave of the black rebellion that has led to the rise of black racial attitudes. It is probable that findings evidence in San Francisco are reflective of the situation in the nation more generally, particularly among blacks in other large urban areas of the United States. At the least, our findings significantly replicate those obtained in Detroit by Schuman and Hatchett.

The potential of Alienation and Black Identity are represented by its

link to the young. Schuman and Hatchett (1974) asserted that the predominance of age as a correlate of Alienation, and in our case, also Black Identity, most likely reflect the pronounced ideological content of these changes in black attitudes. They point to a new way of seeing things and consequently are more readily adopted by the young. Within a longitudinal design, it would be possible to examine whether these are, in fact, persisting generational differences or merely life cycle differences which will change with further maturation.

This age relationship may be usefully interpreted in light of the recent findings reported by Campbell (1979) concerning the psychological well-being through the life span of American adults. Using data from a series of samples of the national population, beginning in 1957 and running to 1978, he found that younger people were less satisfied with their situation (their work, standard of living, housing, the country as a whole, etc.) than older people.

A substantial literature has noted the growing alienation, growing distrust and politicization of the public, especially the young and blacks. This study should be added to that list.

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NOTES

1. Schuman and Hatchett's research was conducted at three points in time, two in 1968 (nonoverlapping periods) and one in 1971. In one of the studies (Kerner-68 study), a sample was drawn in Detroit and fourteen other cities. The other two studies were carried out in Detroit. As part of a larger research effort, conducted in San Francisco in 1976, we attempted to replicate and extend small but substantively significant portions of the investigation reported in Racial Attitudes.

We did not repeat all of the items. Instead, we used the abbreviated version of their scale (minus one item), without any concerted attempt to adhere to their exact ordering of items. In conducting their analyses, the authors often used the full eleven item scale of Alienation; however, they noted that the abbreviated version (six items) was highly related to the full scale and was somewhat more homogeneous in conceptual content. We excluded one item (referring to preference in neighborhoods) because of its low correlation with the overall scale. It is worth noting that the excluded item was also problematic in the original scale. We did, however include one item which related to the other items; (i.e., the trust item) thus, we were left with 6 items in our scale. There were also slight word changes in 2 of the items, but we do not think this changed the nature of the scale. In accord with suggestions in the original study, we used open-ended questioning in our pretest before devising the set of closed items.

Finally, Schuman and Hatchett also studied the possible change in the socioeconomic correlates of black attitudes over a three year period. They did not expect, nor did they obtain, a marked change. As a consequence, in most analyses the two year samples (1968 and 1971) were collapsed to obtain

a better estimate of the relationship between particular background factors and attitudes.

2. The minimizing function is:

$$F = \log \Sigma + \text{tr}\,(S\,\Sigma^{-1}) - \log S - (p + q),$$

where p is the number of endogenous variables and q is the number of observed covariance residuals. This function is minimized with respect to the unconstrained elements of Λ, Γ, Φ, Σ and θ_ε. If the distribution of (Y', X') is multi-normal this yields maximum likelihood estimates which have desirable asymptotic properites.

Using LISREL, we can obtain a X^2 goodness of fit test for any over-identified model, with degrees of freedom equal to the number of distinct elements in Σ $[(p + q) \cdot (p + q + 1)/2]$ minus the number of different parameters to be estimated. The value for a model is determined by both the sample size and the minimum value of our fitting function.

3. There were only 4 respondents under 21 and only 6 over 69.

4. The items chosen for the Black Identity scale were taken from various scales, many of which were explicitly identified as a Black Identity scale. It is clear from an observation of those scales, as well as the one we present, that this concept means many things to many people. Again, this testifies to its complexity. To minimize yeasaying, items b and ℓ were worded to indicate a lack of Black Identity. These items were reversed coded.

5. Because a diagram of the models with correlated errors would be rather tedious, cumbersome, and aesthetically suspect, we decided to present the findings in table form. All of the estimates in these tables are standardized.

6. These following estimates (standardized coefficients) may not apply to other populations, since this would assume that the ratio of true score to error variance is equal across populations. (Wiley and Wiley, 1970). Equality of true score variance across populations is not always a tenable assumption.

	Reliabilities
Y_1	.42
Y_2	.18
Y_3	.24
Y_4	.29
Y_5	.21
Y_6	.26
Y_7	.06
Y_8	.19
Y_9	.10
Y_{10}	.48
Y_{11}	.18
Y_{12}	.41
Y_{13}	.42

Table 1

First Order Derivatives of Fitting Function with Respect to Elements of θ_ε for Black Racial Attitudes Model with Uncorrelated Measurement Errors without Quadratic Terms.

	y1	y2	y3	y4	y5	y6	y7
y1	0.000						
y2	-0.330	-0.000					
y3	0.293	-0.099	-0.000				
y4	-0.020	-0.288	0.261	-0.000			
y5	0.025	0.248	-0.289	0.275	-0.000		
y6	0.249	0.131	-0.251	-0.094	-0.120	0.000	
y7	0.048	0.089	-0.171	0.043	-0.160	-0.022	0.000
y8	0.150	0.235	-0.220	-0.024	-0.132	-0.073	0.046
y9	-0.015	0.117	-0.144	0.149	0.063	0.014	-0.018
y10	-0.040	0.151	0.076	-0.002	-0.246	-0.035	0.022
y11	-0.075	-0.251	-0.001	-0.121	0.032	-0.067	-0.036
y12	-0.010	0.206	0.099	-0.083	-0.008	-0.079	0.026
y13	0.018	0.025	-0.060	0.088	0.001	0.060	-0.041

	y8	y9	y10	y11	y12	y13
y8	-0.000					
y9	0.035	0.000				
y10	-0.089	0.007	0.000			
y11	-0.055	0.012	-0.042	-0.000		
y12	0.075	-0.001	-0.044	0.212	-0.000	
y13	0.018	-0.038	0.133	0.117	-0.228	-0.000

Table 2

Maximum-Likelihood Estimates of Black Racial Attitudes Model with Correlated Measurement Errors among Indicators within Factors.

$\hat{\Lambda}$

	Alienation	Black Identity
y1	.615 (----)	0.0
y2	.395 (5.124) *	0.0
y3	.524 (5.213) *	0.0
y4	.573 (6.258) *	0.0
y5	.503 (5.440) *	0.0
y6	.514 (5.688) *	0.0

TABLE 2 (Con't)

	Alienation	Black Identity
y7	0.0	.258 (----)
y8	0.0	.438 (3.780)*
y9	0.0	.312 (3.347)*
y10	0.0	.708 (1.103)*
y11	0.0	.415 (3.718)*
y12	0.0	.638 (4.096)*
y13	0.0	.641 (4.036)*

$\hat{\Gamma}$

	Age	Occup.	Income	Educ.	Perceived Soc.Class	Sex
Alienation EQ.1	-.315 (-4.325)*	.114 (1.574)	-.003 (-0.037)	-.071 (-0.955)	-.092 (-1.407)	-.057 (-0.923)
Black Identity EQ.2	-.296 (-3.208)*	.028 (0.420)	-.063 (-0.896)	.241 (2.712)*	-.148 (-2.130)*	.107 (1.710)

$\hat{\Psi}$

	Alienation EQ.1	Black Identity EQ.2
Alienation EQ.1	.888 (4.600)*	
Black Identity EQ.2	.505 (3.514)*	.774 (2.123)*

TABLE 2 (Con't)

$\hat{\theta}_{\varepsilon}$

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	.792 (8.689)*						
2	.308 (3.573)*	.918 (10.794)*					
3.	-.025 (-2.182)*	0.0 (-)	.853 (8.129)*				
4	0.0 (-)	.2311 (3.215)*	-.178 (-2.215)*	.822 (9.475)*			
5	0.0 (-)	-.003 (-0.038)	-.0285 (-0.310)	-.183 (2.411)*	.900 (9.621)*		
6	-.184 (-2.253)*	.010 (0.160)	-.010 (-0.096)	0.0 (-)	-.034 (-0.409)	.859 (9.255)*	
7	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.966 (12.497)*
8	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
9	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
10	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
11	0.0 (_)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
12	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
13	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)

	8	9	10	11	12	13
8	.899 (11.988)*					
9	0.0 (-)	.950 (12.387)*				
10	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.706 (8.405)*			
11	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.828 (12.083)*		
12	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.769 (10.463)*	
13	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	-.240 (-2.953)*	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.767 (9.412)*

TABLE 3

Maximum-Likelihood Estimates of Black Racial Attitudes Model with Correlated Measurement Errors among Indicators both within and across Factors.

$\hat{\Lambda}$

	Alienation	Black Identity
y1	.651 (-)	0.0
y2	.426 (5.257)*	0.0
y3	.489 (5.110)*	0.0
y4	.534 (6.021)*	0.0
y5	.452 (5.053)*	0.0
y6	.513 (5.679)*	0.0
y7	0.0	.249 (-)
y8	0.0	.439 (3.642)*
y9	0.0	.319 (3.278)*
y10	0.0	.690 (3.927)*
y11	0.0	.420 (3.602)*
y12	0.0	.639 (3.930)*
y13	0.0	.645 (3.881)*

$\hat{\Gamma}$

	Age	Occup.	Income	Educ.	Perceived Soc.Class	Sex
Alienation EQ.1	-.320 (-4.417)*	.128 (1.746)	.005 (0.071)	-.055 (-0.729)	-.091 (-1.380)	-.067 (-1.068)
Black Identity EQ.2	-.299 (-3.145)*	.038 (0.561)	-.064 (-0.912)	.245 (2.695)*	-.145 (-2.071)*	.100 (1.610)

TABLE 3 (Con't)

	Alienation EQ. 1	Black Identity EQ. 2
Alienation EQ. 1	.877 (4.608)*	
Black Identity EQ. 2	.494 (3.417)*	.768 (2.032)*

TABLE 3 (Con't)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	.763 (7.518)*						
2	.218 (2.546)*	.676 (10.133)*					
3	-.169 (-1.926)	0.0 (-)	.873 (8.808)*				
4	0.0 (-)	.216 (2.977)*	-.129 (-1.758)	.837 (10.057)*			
5	0.0 (-)	-.008 (-0.121)	.031 (0.401)	-.129 (-1.868)	.893 (10.318)*		
6	-.212 (-2.380)*	-.024 (-0.300)	.013 0.164)	0.0 (-)	.004 (0.063)	.859 (9.077)*	
7	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.089 (1.502)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.970 (12.508)*
8	-.139 (-2.061)*	-.158 (-2.734)*	.103 (1.655)	0.0 (-)	.075 (1.221)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
9	0.0 (-)	-.079 (-1.424)	.062 (1.030)	-.131 (-2.241)*	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
10	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.165 (2.374)*	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
11	0.0 (-)	.147 (2.582)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
12	0.0 (-)	-.088 (-1.494)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)
13	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)

	8	9	10	11	12	13
8	.899 (11.917)*					
9	0.0 (-)	.948 (12.355)*				
10	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.719 (8.622)*			
11	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.911 (12.039)*		
12	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.767 (10.379)*	
13	0.0 (-)	0.0 ( )	0.0 ( )	0.0 (-)	0.0 (-)	.761 (9.331)*

Note: T values are in paraenthesis
* Statistically significant at $p < .05$
$X^2 = 167.682$; df = 40.741

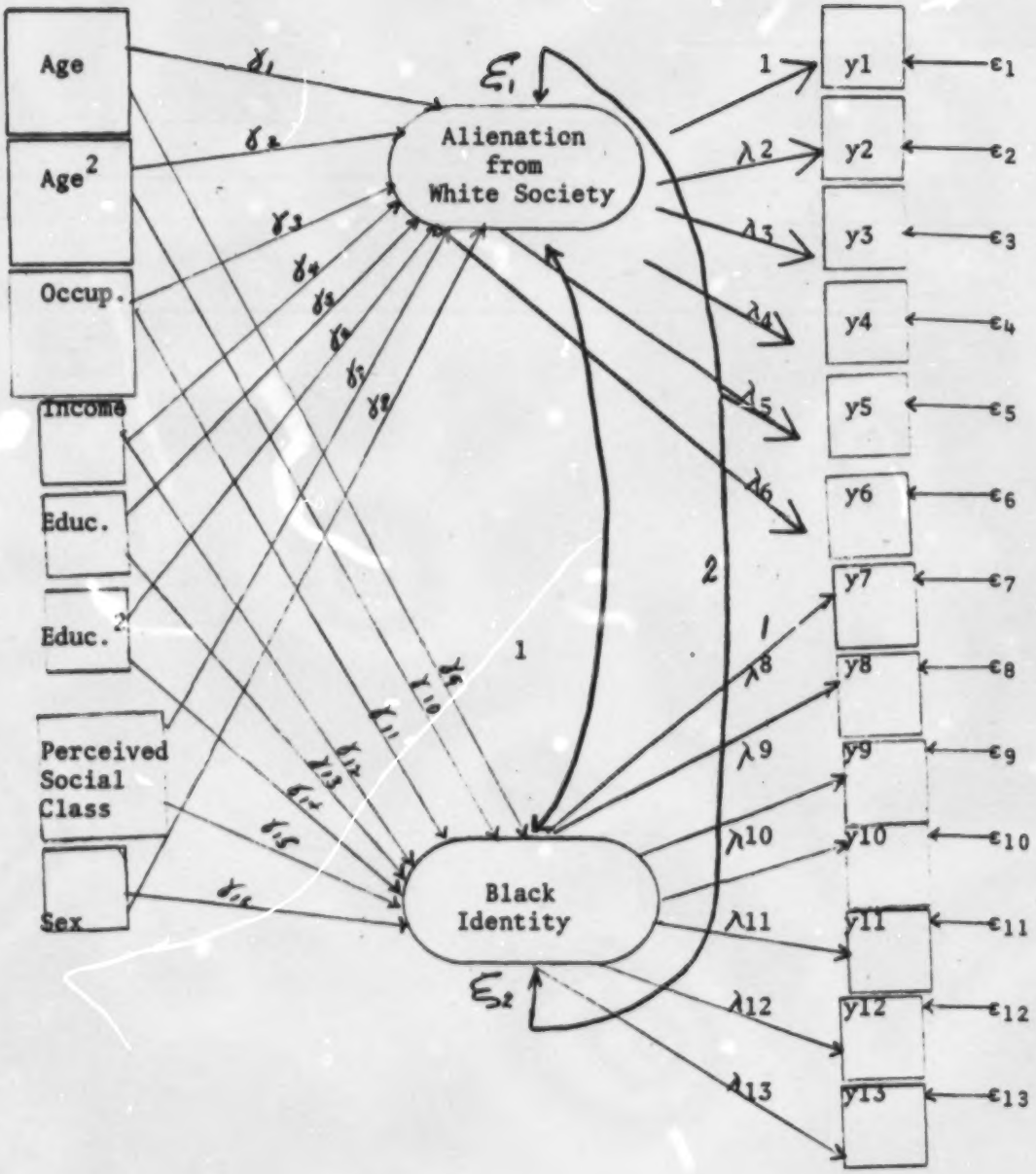
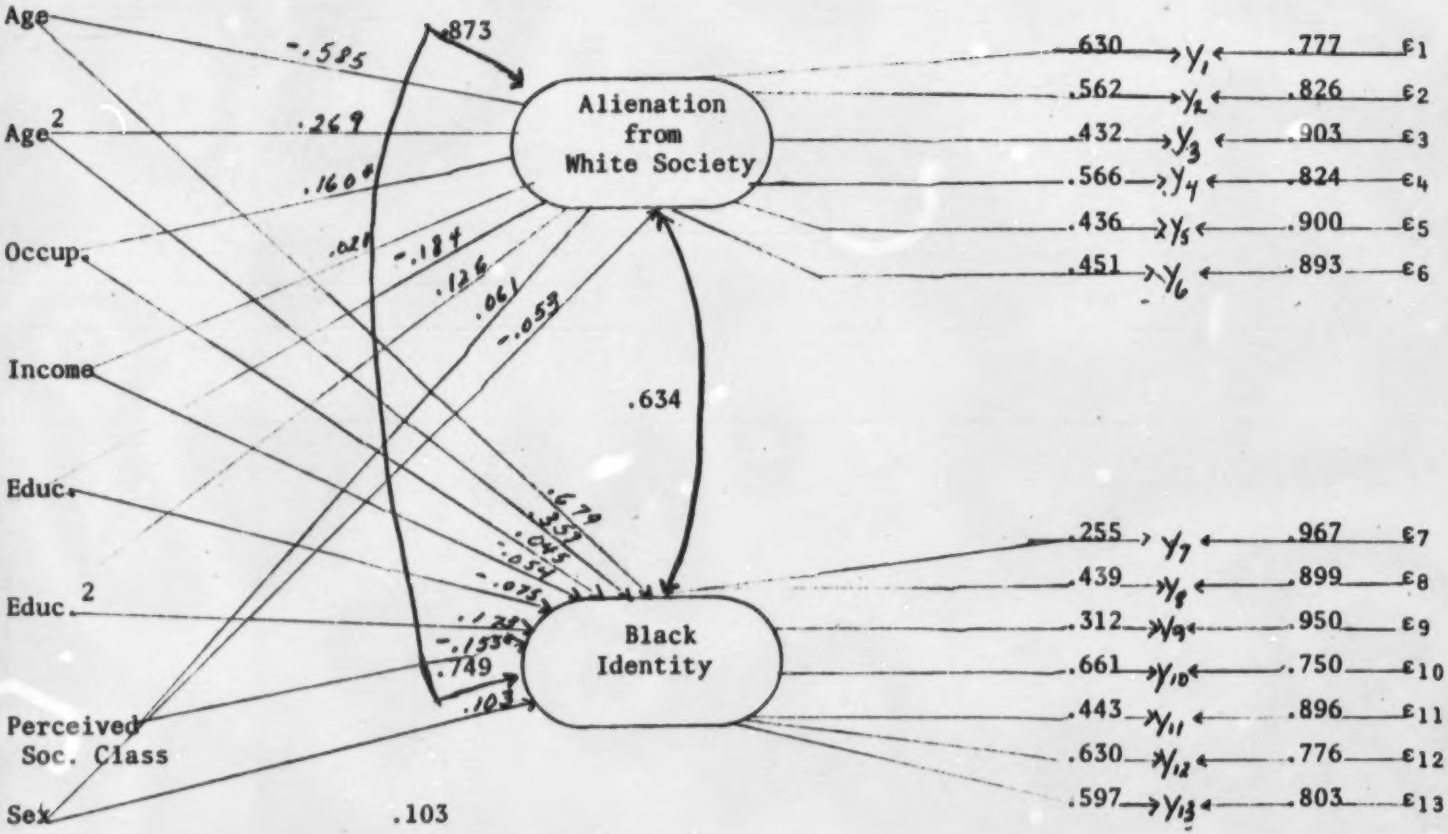
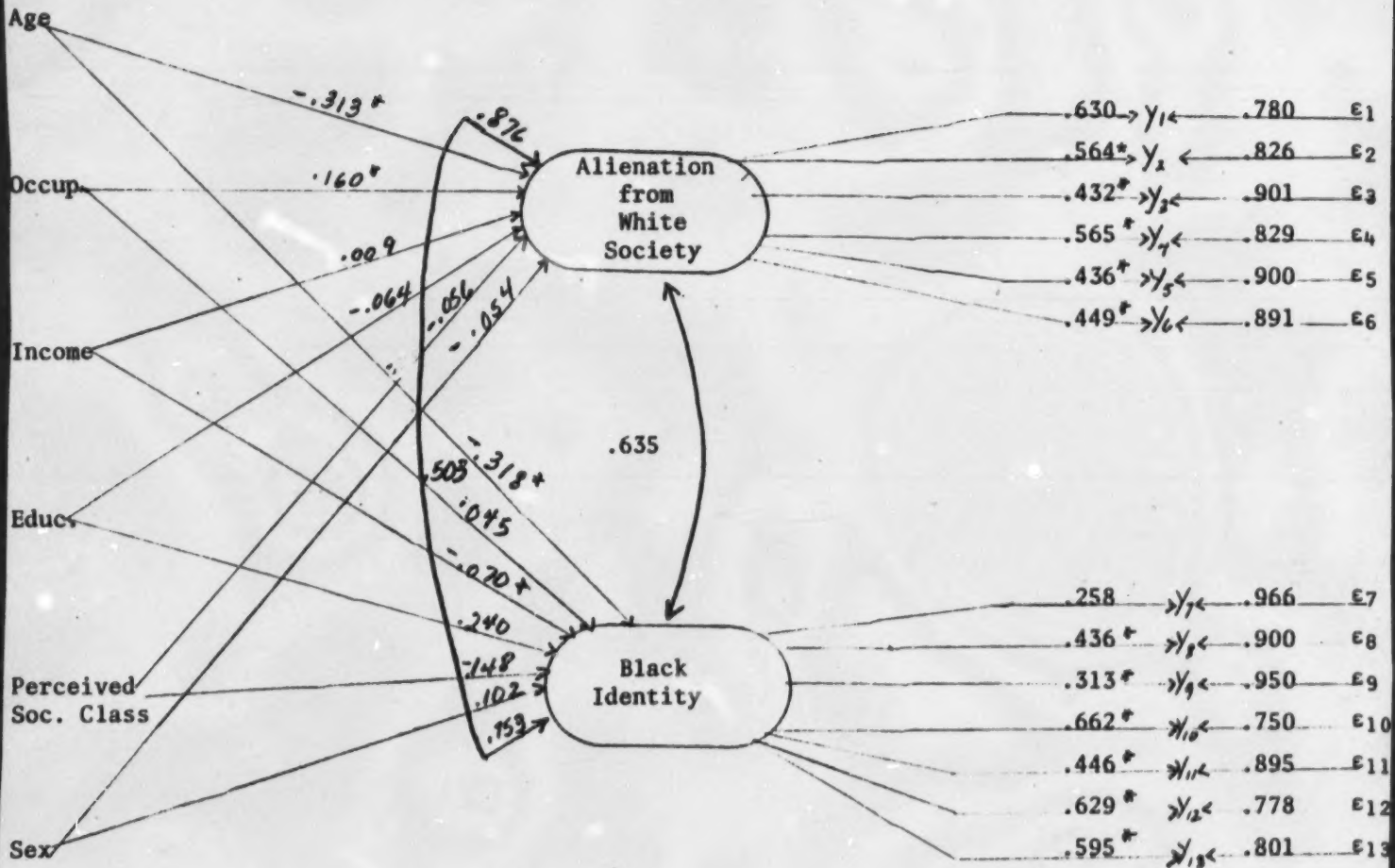


Figure 1. Schematic Representation of Conceptual Relationships among Black Adults.



X^2 = 283.295
d.f. = 152
*Statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 2. Maximum Likelihood Estimates of Black Racial Attitudes Model (Model I) with Uncorrelated Measurement Errors and Quadratic Terms (Standardized).



$X^2 = 261.977$
d.f. = 130
* Statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Figure 3. Maximum Likelihood Estimates of Black Racial Attitudes Model (Model II) without quadratic Terms (Standardized).